

/129 cont./

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789 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.

782 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists, are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the opening of the tillage at Bwabbûr generally practiced, or does it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

776 /130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest, in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific 778 787 ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language, one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

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789 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for

241 /135 cont./
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let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has fallen into disuse. One is called only bab lkhir, that is to say, gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation,"

241 etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait
796 of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an
619 enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following
634 enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original
184 source./

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin, the old a. Châib. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the irrigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood runs, the omen is good.

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At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the mountain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

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Rektu wasif: the a. Abdelkrim have the initium for water. Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar. Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uâziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sâid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general

[784]

initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period reputed to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the lqâleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as above.

[784]

In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

Beyond that

578/266 cont. / there is emigration, a frequent
42 form of protest against an oppressor judged for the moment to be
166 stronger and against whom one insists on one's rights. It is in
this way that the notarial practice knows "safeguard" acts,
istih'fâz', most often confused with those of istih'câ'. Whence,
moreover, the frequent allegation of absence, interruptive of
prescription, in instances of a more complex and more mature
turn to which the revendication of land gives rise. Evidently,
the Mussulman theory of the ghayba, "imprescriptibility based on
absence," has provided there only a convenient cadre for an old,
local notion, both economic and ritual: the absent one is also
the suppliant. His flight obscurely "obligates" the one provok-
ing it.

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762 These manifestations do not go, as in other societies, so far
as the man's suicide. But it is striking that the Chleuh /Shluh/
woman rather frequently has recourse to this genre of protestation.
She hangs herself or throws herself into a cistern. And, in fact,
in spite /267/ of the juridical capacity which not only the law but
the mores recognize for her, and which her psychological propen-
sity makes her exercise fully, her life in certain respects is more
amenable to an extrajudicial plane than that of the man. Per-
haps because of lesser communal implication: economy of the
gift during the long betrothal, assiduous practice of magic, re-
lationships of fides in the marriage state, recognized aptitude for
imprecatory procedures. It is in these perspectives that it is
necessary to study the act, rich in social consequences, that the
suicide of the woman constitutes, an act relatively frequent, and
which manifests the rupture, voluntary or not, of the bond of the
group. Most often it is a solemn protestation against the wrong
suffered. But it may also result from a disorder inflicted by
mysterious powers. For example, during the winter of 1953, all
762 the women of Usikis incurred the anger of a saint by collecting
784 herbs in the reserved meadows of the Tasila. They were seized
789 by "demoniac" manifestations that in one or two cases went

762 /267 cont./
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as far as suicide (1).

1. Further interferences between law, magic, agrarian life, around the agg^wmi, whose placing in defense is put "under the guarantee" of a saint.

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The past, even recent, of the Seksawa yields numerous facts of this order. Their variety and, in certain respects, their incoherence cannot conceal the fact that they originate from a stage of archaic indivision among the most corroded modes of the agrarian, religious, and juridical life.

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III. Patronages of Saints, Natural Periodicity and Juridical Obligation

Another Stage of Rites: The Dues To the Saints

[591]
[634] If on the local plane the balance sheet is so unfavorable to personal holiness, it is not the same for another order of facts: the liaisons of patronage that are established between the group and external saints. This externality in fact seems to be an essential condition: whether the chchard' (1)

1. Ar.: chart', "stipulation." The use of this word in the sense of dues to saints is ancient. Cf. Manāqib al-H'ud'aykī, t. I, p. 151, 1. 4 de fine, concerning a saint of the Haouz in the sixteenth century.

paid to a Seksawa saint, Lalla Aziza or Sidi Mh'and, for example, depends on a sort of federalism between different Seksawa cantons, or -- the most common case -- such-and-such a group, such-and-such a subgroup, even such-and-such a family, separately, freely, and with all the appearances of juridical spontaneity, takes up a

/291 cont./

The Rite

796 First, there are, as has been seen, two great sacrifices to
782 Lalla Aziza. The one is inserted in the naturist calendar already
opened by all the collections of the first fruits, of which it is in
a way the culminating act. It is generally called tighersiwin, "the
/292/ immolations," and it takes place on the 15th of yulyuz,
the "July" of the Julian calendar. The other coincides with the
nativity of the Prophet, this Milâd, whose institution in Morocco
and systematic generalization by the Mérinides toward the fif-
teenth century invaded little by little all of North Africa and be-
came the orthodox repository for a multitude of orgiastic rites.
At Z'inir' the appearance and the meaning of these two manifes-
tations differ notably. Let it be judged.

The feast of yulyuz consists of the sacrifice of bovines pro-
cessionally offered by Idma, Imt'ddan, a. Musa, a. Mh'and, and
sometimes a. Lh'sen and a. H'adduyws.

The beasts are assembled upstream from the tomb, above the
cemetery of sidi bu Lqadel, who would be, one will remember,
H'addo, the eponym of the Haut Seksawa. Then the procession
[533] begins to sing a Prophetic litany, doubtlessly intended to furnish
the orthodox endorsement of the ceremony. "In your honor,
Moh'ammed! It is the Prophet whom we place at our head."
This formula is used elsewhere in similar ceremonies; it is heard
in any case at Ammem. The crowd arrives at an area equipped
as a market on the parvis of the tomb. Each chief slits the throat
[178] of his beast. The victim jumps in movements eagerly viewed by
the crowd, which confers omen value upon them. The chief
washes his hands and his dagger in an earthen vessel that is pre-
sented to him. A savage scene. The beasts lie with throat cut
open, exhaling a forge's blowing through their open tracheae,
[634] while dogs lap up the blood that spreads. Then the invocation
starts, at which the moqaddem presides and which consists of
hopes for family, agricultural, and political prosperity. The
[171] sacrifice is what it is classically on similar occasions in other
regions of Morocco. The only two things to be noticed are the

/292 cont./

796 initial gathering above sidi bu Lqnadel (connection with the old
782 royal cycle?) and the direction of the procession. It is carried
out from upstream downstream, even for the offerings from the
plain. This latter trait and the mediocrity of the affluence con-
trast radically with what happens at the feast of the Milâd.

At this time the richness and the precision of the rite are
more perceptible, and the atmosphere without any doubt richer.

(619) The victim is a cow, offered by the Imt'ddan and their a. Irro
emigrants. Perhaps because they are the original group of the
saint or, better, the substitute for this group. The victimary is
traditionally furnished by the family of the a. Baqqa, from
(619) Tagunit (Imt'ddan). It is also this taqbilt that supplies the flagel-
lants. The procession departs from downstream, below the mosque.

Same Prophetic litany. The victim is led, the one sacrificing it
holding it by the left horn, a naked dagger /293/ in the right, as
far as below the "house of Lalla Aziza." The house has an inner
court and a high open chamber as loggia, and where women are
gathered, as they are on the neighboring terraces. The whole
infinitely motley. People armed with bludgeons precede the cow
a little. They face it, screaming and brandishing bare sticks or
olive branches. The victimary slits the throat of the beast. If
(787) the latter rises in a jump, good omen. Cries, ho hos /Fr.

youyou/, and confusion, amidst which a marabout from Assttif
says the fâth'a, while the victim is skinned. It disappears under
a yelling cluster of the faithful who rush beneath the blows to tear
away some skin, some meat, by hand or with a knife. Upon the
arrival of the cow, an old woman kissed it between the two
horns. As soon as the blood spurts forth, there is a rush: one fills
a bottle with it, another besmears his face, many the eyes. Si-
multaneously, the throats of two sheep are slit, one offered by
Assttif, the other by Wanchkrir. The blood of hens colors, how-
ever, the downstream threshold of the zaouia. Then the degree of
emotion, perceptible from the beginning, becomes extreme. Ex-
citement reaches its peak. The animal, finally dismembered, is
put to cook in the large pots that the house shelters. Divided into
fragments, it will be carried in all directions by those present.

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/The rest of this section, except for the last three paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ Know that I left the mosque of X... in a turmoil and extreme anxiety. That in April, I remained in this trance more than four months. One day I saw a glimmering similar to that which the moon emits before the sun. When it came up to me, I set about proclaiming my prayer. "Very good," said a voice.

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A dream came to me in the mosque. Someone was telling me: Speak to the /317/ t'olba ad-dawla. I then went to the mountains to relate my vision to the t'olba.

And he said to me, "Salvation upon the t'olba of Y." I remained there until he said, "Salvation upon you."

I then came to this spot about which the birds had spoken to me: "speak to your God at the mosque of Z..." I assented three times. Then I waited there until the approach of the Suq Tleta. It was then that a voice said to me: "Mbarek uld Brahim, leave the Tleta."

We set out with Si Ah'med ou Bihi. We found work and bastinado. We returned home.

The second Tuesday, we bought nothing at the market.

The 3rd Tuesday, I went to the market determined to accomplish this act. I then said to myself: "No," and returned to Z...

But that very night, I myself saw Him who said to me: "Why have you not executed my order?" Terrified, I awoke. My son was also terrified. I fell asleep again. My son became frightened a second time. His mother asked what it was.

I went to Si Moh'ammed N. and said to him: "What is this vision?"

A being spoke to me in the mosque and directed me to go to speak with the t'olba ad-Dawla. I then went to the mountains and told this to them (to the one in the zaouia and to another in Ichekad'en). "Last night he told me: 'Salvation upon you.' I saw a bird who called me to God. I told him 'yes.'"

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-- "Do you then practice thaumaturgy?"

-- "No."

787 /317 cont./

[539] -- "Drive these visions from the depths of your being," he told me.

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In general, the form taken by this communication with the beyond is that of millenarianistic prediction. Indeed, this old theme, so familiar to Semitic societies -- but to many others as well -- is very common in the Moroccan South. In Seksawa itself, it gives rise to many compositions, very obscurely contrived, according to the rules peculiar to this genre of literature. In a Chleuh /Shluh/ language, mixed with scholarly phrases, and which Arabic writing renders very improperly.

One of these texts, for example, originating from the archives of the rebel amghar, goes back to an ancient and tumultuous epoch: that of the al-Hiba movement. In violent language the writer predicts obscure but terrible calamities on all the chiefs of the Dir, and notably on the great Mtuggi, "this dog." "You, Aguzzal" (1).

1. Minor chief of the a. Daud, fourrier of the Mtugga on the side of the mountains.

Between the traditions of millenarianism and the political opposition from time to time assuming the appearance of a "master of the hour," the bond is close and constant. Ch. Richard, apropos Algerian events, Etude sur l'insurrection du Dahra (1845-1846) /Study on the Insurrection of the Dahra (1845-1846)/, 1846, 85 sq., analyzes with finesse the social psychology /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ of the mūl s-sā'a. In the Moroccan S. many of these traditions have for foyer the ribāt of Massat, R. Montagne, "Une tribu berbère du S. Marocain: Massat /A Berber tribe of the Moroccan South: Massat/," Hesp., 1924, p. 364. Even quite recently a curious conjunction of these traditions with Islamic purism has been

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/footnote 1 continued/ produced in the person of Ibn al-Muwaqqit, scholar from Marrakech, whose prediction on the end of the world greatly agitated the circles of t't'olba. A. Faure, "Un réformateur marocain... /A Moroccan reformer.../, " Hesp., 1952, p. 191.

it was written, "you will flee more rapidly than the dart. And /318/ you, your power shall be broken as by the wind that ravages the leaves of the almond tree. You shall lie in pieces like the meksūr" ("nuts crushed to a pulp and sold in bulk"). Biblical tone!

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Other prophecies circulate, some of which, attributed to a Sidi Lārīsi, evoke an end to the world in about 70 hejiran years. At grave moments: 1912, Mā' el-^cAynin and al-Hība; 1937, rebellion of Ah'med Umulid; closer to us, in 1940, a quite latent millenarianism rears its head.

The Holiness

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According to a classic ambiguity: lucky or unlucky, divine or demoniacal, good or bad magic, initiate or counterinitiate — the profane is ignorant as to whether these trances merit one or the other qualification. It is thus that error waylays it. Truthfully speaking, this debate is posed only for the individual, and when his personality is exalted, by riches or power. That is the just risk incurred by the pride of one who gets out of the communal cycle. It is the just ransom for the possibilities that then open up beyond paltry horizons. But it is a benefic guarantee that God then opens to the man: the powers that he dispenses to the saints. That is why this whole society lives in ancient and precise relations with its saints.

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It is meticulous archivist of the territorial sacred, of its figures, of its legends. Its sensibility is touched by the constant solicitation of a heroine, Lalla Azīza. But it goes further. The mercy of the Unique and the intercession of this archangel whose

159 /320 cont./
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that carpeted the hall, he raised it and light was emitted from it. Prudent injunctions from the master were necessary in order to dissuade him from continuing the exercise of his karāmât.

159 /321/ Moh'ammed b. Abdallah was endowed with the gift of
789 clairvoyance. According to a well-established mystical tradi-
792 tion, his visions intervened during his sleep. The account of a dream from 1312 Heg.: 1895, which permits him to converse with a deceased former Cheikh /Sheik/ and with the Prophet himself, is valuable. It is a fine text of Berbère /Berber/ religiosity, and all the more remarkable because it emanates from a personage from one of the most archaic cantons of our Seksawa. Its value as a spiritual sign, strong revealer of the atmosphere of these zaouias of the South and the mystical escapes that sometimes force their way through at some interstice of these closed societies, is remarkable enough that it might not be fruitless to give a partial translation of it below.

"I was in a half sleep. I saw myself in the mausoleum of sidi Ah'med u Ali, conversing with the blessed sidi Ah'med b. Mh'ammed, expert on questions concerning the zaouia. We felt the need to ask the opinion of the venerable sidi Mh'and. My companion called him, and sidi Mh'and appeared at the door. I embraced him, and he embraced me, as a friend does to a friend. He asked me, 'Are you a sincere friend?' I said I was. We then continued the discussion until I observed that the Prophet's presence was necessary in order for us to resolve a particular point. I called him three times, and we were dazzled by an immense flash, and such that each of us was constrained to shield his face with his hand. And the Prophet entered among us, by way of the outside door of the zaouia. My half sleep was illuminated by it. The Prophet held Abraham by the hand. They seated themselves beneath the window that faces East, and we placed ourselves in a circle around them. And the Prophet urged us to follow his path, and told us things that I have forgotten. Then Sidi Abdallah Frugi moved among us. He was dragging a sword as if he had just come from a battle..."

/321 cont./

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And the session continues, full of color for the eyes and instruction for the heart. The account that is given of it contains precise allusions to the crisis that the house was then going through and announces events that, it seems, took place afterwards without fail. One is thus dealing with a jurisprudential oracle here (1).

1. On the mantic of the dream, L. Massignon, "Le folklore chez les mystiques musulmans /Folklore among the Mussulman mystics/," Mélanges René Basset, t. I, pp. 259 sq., 264, 269. Numerous anecdotes of this type in the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî.

Certainly not with a Songe de Scipion /Dream of Scipio/. But the continuity with the Abrahamic message, the reminder of the great Witnesses are expressed here with a vigor that has to make this last saint of the Seksawa a being of imitation and edification.

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Of what may be felt in the presence of such persons, not by the common herd taken with contracts for agricultural assurance or payer for amulets, but by the humble disciple, adolescent "of prayer and of desire" (2),

2. According to the magnificent expression of L. Massignon.

who hides his fervor in the obscure cells of the zaouia, here is still-warm evidence. On the blank page of a volume, /322/ both a solemn pledge and talisman, a young man, Brahîm Nffisi, "dedicates his being, his goods, his destiny" to the sherif sidi Jilâl b. Ah'mad as-Sibâ^C1 in exchange for his mu^Câchara, and the latter promises to dispense it to him. It would be too easy to see in this veritable act of "affrèment" /becoming brothers/, dated 1194 Heg.: 1780, only a trait of suspect friendship. This

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771 entirely: in the form of agrarian rites they have been preserved in
178 the Sous as in the other mountainous regions of North Africa with
a surprising fidelity. It can be said, however, that in our day
these survivals appear much more like traditions than like be-
771 liefs. Their importance is limited by the practical mind of the
789 Chleuhs /Shluh/, preoccupied above all with making nature fa-
178 vorable for their enterprises rather than with giving a symbolic
sense or a religious value to customs whose origin and meaning
escape them. So we see magic more than religion continue to
play, in spite of the decline of ancient rites, an important role
in current life. It is what permits solving easily the problems that
are posed each day. For example, when birds and insects harm
[825] the crops, it suffices to take the one of them that is considered
the king and to execute it following an exact ceremony. If the
jackals too often devour the lambs of the country, the simplest
way to divert the trouble to a neighboring tribe is to deposit tiny
jackals made of clay on the grass on which the sheep are browsing.

562 The magic of the women is less inoffensive; it does not con-
789 tent itself with calling on hidden principles that, for primitives,
regulate the life of the universe; its sources are more obscure and
mysterious. Put in the service of passion, it can bring on death
or madness. Doubtless it is attached by hidden bonds to the /51/
ancient beliefs, and one understands that the old women skillful
at spells and divination, whose memories keep in their secret re-
cesses the traditions forgotten by the men, deserve the curse of
the true Mussulmans and are regarded as the allies of Satan.

789 Finally, there are other magic practices that do not belong
[771] exclusively to the old Berbère /Berber/ stock, but doubtless come
[789] from the ancient civilizations of the Orient, perhaps brought by
Islam itself: the knowledge of omens, the art of distinguishing,
in order to imitate them, the men of good augury, and, on the
other hand, of fleeing from those who bring misfortune; there is
nothing up to the holy book itself that does not give the talebs of
the Sous powerful formulas for evoking the spirits and making them

/219 cont./

632 When the "mouda^c" made up of several hamlets is an active
621 social unit, as happens in most of the valleys of the Haut-Atlas
[592] /High Atlas/, the heads of all the households in the hamlets
that constitute it deliberate jointly in order to regulate the de-
tails of life. But if, according to common practice, the assem-
[554] bly is open to all the men married for a year, only the respected
[613] representatives of families, the heads of the "ikhs," make de-
cisions in the name of all.

623 The meetings of the council of the "mouda^c," to which the
[346] name "jema^t" is often given, are customarily held in the Friday
mosque, which is the central institution, and perhaps this social
group's reason for being. The turn for feeding the taleb -- a
[212] hired outsider who instructs the children in the reading of the
[755] Koran, drafts letters or legal documents, and furnishes amulets
[358] to cure illnesses -- maintenance of the house of prayer, system-
[574] atic regulation of the hospitality owed to strangers who come to
spend the night in the mosque usually built apart from the village,
such are the little practical problems that the assembly must
solve in the best interests of all. The "jema^t" augments its ac-
[185] tivity by watching over the protection of the crops, fixing the
[241] successive periods of utilization of the forest of argan trees for
[245] pasture or the harvest of the berries; it also sets the time when
[624] one can begin the plowing or the harvesting of walnuts (1).

[778]
• [787] 1. For magical reasons, it is often prohibited
by the jema^t to plow before a family that pos-
sesses "baraka" has found that circumstances
are favorable for beginning the work. Cf.
Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words
and Things/, pp. 313-315. For other reasons,
the harvest of walnuts or olives, which is done
on trees belonging in common to a large number
of owners, could be done only in the presence of
the entire group, and it, too, is regulated by the
council.

[423]